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**A DECADE OF AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES**



William Howard Taft.



A DECADE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

1903-1913

BY

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NOTE.

A Decade of American Government in the Philippines was prepared as an additional chapter to a third edition of the author's *History of the Philippines*, first published in 1903, and is separately printed for the convenience of those desiring a brief historical review of the events of the last ten years. For some account of the ethnology of the islands, their discovery and development under Spanish rule, and of the first years of American occupation from 1898 to 1902, reference is made to the larger work, also published by World Book Company.



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PROLOGUE.

The possession of the Philippines came suddenly and unexpectedly to the American people. A succession of events which were not anticipated, but which could not properly be avoided, bound the islands to us. In April 1898, war was commenced to end Spanish domination in Cuba, but the first blow was struck in the Far East. For a long period the United States had kept a small squadron in Asiatic waters, and at the beginning of the war, no American naval base then existing, it was gathered at Hongkong. The British government, complying with its duty as a neutral, ordered the American ships to depart. Three possible directions were open to the Navy Department: "interne" at Hongkong and remain under British control for the period of the war; return to the United States, passing from port to port for those limited supplies of fuel which international regulations permit; or take a base from the enemy. This last course was adopted, and on May 1, Commodore Dewey entered the harbor of Manila, destroyed the Spanish fleet, and captured the naval station at Cavite.

All sound principles of warfare recommend that a successful blow be followed up and efforts repeated to demoralize the enemy and compel him to sue for peace. Thus the battle of Manila Bay was succeeded by the dispatch of a military expedition to the Philippines, the encourage-

ment of the Filipinos to renew their rebellion against Spain, and the capture of Manila, which yielded to an American assault on August 13. Before this final action, however, on July 22, Spain had sued for peace; and on August 12 a protocol had been signed in which Spain yielded the primary objects of the war, and a suspension of hostilities was declared. Owing to the cutting of the cable between Manila and Hongkong, news of this protocol did not reach the Philippines to stay the assault, and, like the battle of New Orleans, the taking of Manila occurred after the formal ending of war.

The capture and occupation of the capital of the Philippines exerted important influences upon the final terms of peace. The protocol of August 12 had provided that Spain should relinquish Cuba, cede Porto Rico and an island of the Ladrones, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet at Paris for the final settlement of the terms of peace. The disposition of the Philippines was left to this commission.¹

After the meeting of the peace commissioners, the government of the United States determined to compel the cession of the Philippines. The Spanish commissioners yielded after a bitter and protracted dispute, and the treaty was signed on December 10. The motives of the American government in thus extending its demands have been denounced repeatedly as lust of empire, cupidity, or the intoxication of military success. These charges by no means explain the situation. The dominant motive quite clearly was to protect the islands from further bloodshed and turmoil. Aguinaldo and the Filipinos had had the

¹ Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain, Sen. Doc. rt I, 55th Congress, 3rd session, p. 274, 277.

encouragement of the American forces against Spain and they had co-operated in some degree in the taking of Manila. The American commanders had employed only legitimate means of warfare in encouraging the rebellion of the enemy's subjects, but this very encouragement had created a responsibility to protect the Filipinos from the consequences of their temerity in rising once more against Spain. The termination of the war released for action in the Philippines the Spanish forces employed in Cuba, and had the Filipinos been left to settle their cause alone, Spain would have swept the islands once more with a besom of destruction. These considerations were, I believe, the dominant motives with the American government and people. Acquisition seemed to be unavoidable except by a repudiation of clearly existing responsibility. The United States Senate, however, debated the ratification of this treaty for many days, and final approval was not given until February 10, 1899, after the outbreak of hostilities between the Filipinos and Americans.

The period from the capture of Manila to the 4th of February was a most critical one in the Philippines, and it is impossible to study its course without regrets. While the discussion of the treaty dragged on at Paris, while the American people strove to discover what was demanded by their interests or their duty, the Filipinos rapidly extended their operations against the Spanish, awoke quite generally to aspirations of independence, and organized for administration and for war. The Filipino revolutionary leader, General Emilio Aguinaldo, had in May returned to Manila with the aid of American officers and raised again the standard of revolt against Spain. At Cavite on June 18 he proclaimed a "Dictatorial Gov-

ernment" with local ordinances. On June 23 he issued another decree substituting a "Revolutionary Government" with an organized plan for an executive department and provision for a revolutionary congress to be popularly elected. During this period he had been joined by Apolinario Mabini, who is generally regarded as the most able exponent of the Filipino national movement and who from this time on was a most active supporter of Philippine independence. About the end of July Aguinaldo was asked by the American authorities to evacuate Cavite. He accordingly transferred his headquarters to Bakoor and afterwards, about September 1, to Malolos, forty miles north of Manila in Bulakan. Here was held the famous Filipino congress which proclaimed the "Malolos Constitution" (January 23, 1899). Shortly thereafter fighting began between the American army in Manila and the Filipino troops who had encircled the city, and the revolutionary government broke up in disagreement, many members seeking the American lines and throwing their influence on the side of the Americans, while the "irreconcilables" continued to wage a disastrous resistance.

The history of this attempt on the part of the Filipinos to organize a government, frame a constitution, and legislate for the improvement of their social interests is a subject of great interest which has not been adequately or impartially described. The opponents of the American action have claimed that a genuine republic was suppressed and a native movement of promise extinguished. On the other hand, the Malolos Congress never represented more than a mere fraction of the people of the single island of Luzon and was largely composed of men of Tagalog birth. The system of local government, which previous to the

commencement of hostilities appeared in some places to be moving quietly and successfully, undoubtedly soon began to exhibit those unfortunate tendencies which transformed it into a system of terrorism enforced by assassination.¹

This is not the place to give an account of the Philippine Insurrection. Suffice it to say that after the first fighting around Manila on February 5, the American army pushed northward and captured Malolos on March 31. The Filipino forces retired northward beyond the Rio Grande de Pampanga, with headquarters at Tarlak. After the summer rainy season, operations were resumed by the Americans which led in November to the complete disbandment of the Filipino army. Aguinaldo escaped into the mountainous country of northern Luzon and disappeared from view until his capture at Palanan by General Funston in May, 1901. The American army gradually occupied all portions of the Archipelago inhabited by civilized peoples. The Philippine resistance took the form of a secret military organization existent in practically all towns. Incessant attacks were made upon American troops and the population was prevented from submission by a policy of

¹ The First Annual Report of General Otis gives the American view. Some light is afforded by testimony before the American Peace Commissioners at Paris. The proclamations of Aguinaldo are available in several published forms. While an exile on Guam, Mabini wrote a history of the revolution, only a part of which has been printed. This was published in English translation by Mr. James B. Le Roy in the American Historical Review. The Insurgent War Records, edited by Captain Taylor, can probably now be consulted through the courtesy of the War Department. A valuable narrative with critical notes is Felipe Calderon's *La Revolución Filipina*. Calderon gives a detailed account of the Malolos Congress, of which he was a member. The Malolos Constitution is printed in *Rept. Phil. Com.*, 1900 (vol. I, exhibit IV), and in *Sen. Doc. 208* (part I, p. 207).

terrorism. This condition lasted for many months and was exceedingly discouraging to the American commanders. It was found necessary to garrison all parts of the Archipelago, and in the fall of 1900 the United States had in the Philippines an army of 75,000 effective troops divided into more than 550 separate detachments. There was an average of three engagements a day.

Meanwhile Congress took no definite action with respect to the future of American sovereignty in the islands. The definite will of the American people could not be determined before the election of President McKinley in November, 1900. To supplement the efforts of the army in winning the natives to a recognition of American rule and to reorganize the political institutions of the islands, President McKinley in April, 1900, appointed the Philippine Commission.¹ The work of this memorable Commission will stand as one of the most striking events in American history. It was ably constituted. Its President was Judge William H. Taft of Ohio. The other members were Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan, Honorable Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Honorable Henry C. Ide of Vermont, Professor Bernard Moses of the University of California. Mr. Wright had been Attorney-General of Tennessee; Mr. Ide, Judge of the Supreme Court of Samoa under the tripartite protectorate of the United States, Great Britain, and Germany; Professor Worcester had three times previously vis-

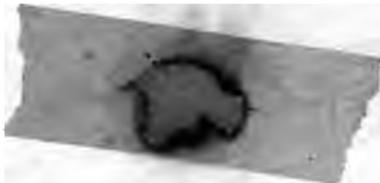
¹ This Commission is to be distinguished from a previous commission headed by President Schurman of Cornell, which was sent to the Philippines in 1899 to secure information as to the actual conditions. The report of the Schurman Commission is published in four volumes, Washington, 1900.

ited the islands, twice as a naturalist and once as a member of the Schurman Commission; Professor Moses had for many years been a student of Spanish colonial history and institutions. The Commission reached Manila in June, 1900, and commenced its legislative labors September 1. Its work in this capacity was remarkable. Between the first of September 1900 and August 1902, it enacted 449 laws, organizing with considerable completeness an entire form of government composed of insular bureaus and provincial and municipal administrations. In much of this work the way had already been opened by the efforts of the Army and the general orders of the military commander. The revenues, derived mainly from customs, were from the beginning of the Commission's efforts adequate for all civil expenditures in the Archipelago. On July 4, 1901, Judge Taft was inaugurated Civil Governor and the executive power, which up to this time had been exercised through the military commander, was organized as a civil administration. The positive evidences of the liberal American policy in the Philippines which the work of the Commission was able to offer, together with the active operations of the American army, brought an end to the Philippine Insurrection in the spring and summer of 1901, when the Filipino "zone commanders," who for many months had been exercising practically independent authority in the different provinces of the Archipelago, were captured or forced to surrender. They were all promptly paroled and allowed to return to their homes. Not one of these revolutionary leaders ever broke his parole or took up arms against the United States.

The work of pacification and organization of government in the Philippines was accomplished under the au-

thority of the President of the United States. It was an extension of the war and treaty making powers. Congress, after a long and detailed examination and debate of the Philippine situation, on July 1, 1902, validated the acts of the President and the Philippine Commission and passed a general measure for the government of the islands and the establishment of civil rights. This "Philippine Bill" is the legislative basis of the American government in the islands.¹

¹ Material for the study of the American occupation of the islands is to be obtained from the reports of the Philippine Commission, 1900 to 1913. From 1901 to 1908 these reports were issued annually in several volumes, and beside the reports of the Commission and the secretaries of the executive departments, contain complete reports of the bureaus. Since 1909 the report is issued in a single volume and the bureau reports are published separately. The reports of the Military Governors of the Philippines for 1899 to 1901 give the work of the Army. Valuable testimony of Governor Taft, other Philippine officials, and army officers before the Senate Committee in the spring of 1902 is published as a Senate Document. The laws of the Commission were published as they appeared and have been republished in six octavo volumes, *Acts 1 to 1800*, September, 1900 to October, 1907.



A DECADE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT 1903-1913

No one can review the achievements of the past decade in the Philippines without granting it to be a signal triumph over unusual difficulties and misunderstandings. This is a brief period as measured by the usual progress of society, but in colonial administration it has frequently happened that great changes have not waited upon long lapse of time. Caesar was in Gaul only eight years; Clive's famous Indian governorship lasted less than six; Raffles was in Java only five. A decade of co-operative effort between Americans and Filipinos has changed the future of the Archipelago. Difficult as the task is by reason of its proximity to us, it is the intention here to summarize the historical events of this decade.

Policy of The United States.—Throughout the decade the Republican Party was in power in the United States, and the policy originally outlined by President McKinley, and developed by Mr. Root and Mr. Taft, continued to be the guiding principle of Americans in administering the government of the islands. This policy, first laid down in the President's Instructions to the Taft Philippine Commission, while fully accepting and insisting upon American responsibility for the Archipelago, was a policy of conciliation and generous concession. It contemplated

the largest possible participation of Filipinos in legislation and administration and an increasing measure of autonomy as enlightenment and experience advanced; the conservation of the natural resources and the public domain; the education of the masses, and the training of Filipinos for leadership. Assailed at first by opponents from both quarters, this policy finally gained general recognition among Americans and Filipinos.

Although the Republican Party controlled the administration, the Philippine question was not regarded or treated as a partisan matter. Of the four governors-general who succeeded Mr. Taft, Mr. Ide was a Republican, Mr. Wright and Mr. Smith were Democrats, and Mr. Forbes had never been prominently identified with either party. Appointments to the Philippine service, with a few exceptions, were made without reference to political affiliations in the United States.

Achievements of Governor Taft. — Mr. Taft left Manila in December, 1903, to become Secretary of War in President Roosevelt's Cabinet. He left the Philippines with unconcealed reluctance, having previously in the year declined the coveted position of associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in order to continue at the head of Philippine affairs. His governorship had been one beset with immense difficulties. Active revolution ended in the spring of 1901 with the surrender and parole of all but a few of the revolutionary zone commanders and with the capture of General Aguinaldo; but guerrilla warfare continued, in Batangas under General Malvar until June, 1902, in Samar under General Lukban until February, 1902, and in Bohol and Cebu for some months after Mr. Taft's inauguration. July 4, 1902, saw all of these

provinces organized under the general provincial government plan.¹

Ladronism. — In several provinces, including the vicinity of Manila, numerous subordinate chieftains refused to follow their leaders in submission and, falling back into the old life of "tulisanes" or "ladrones," kept up a period of raid and pillage which was not ended until 1906. This persistence of "ladronism" was perhaps the most discouraging problem that faced the new and untried civil government. Parts of the Philippines had not been free from tulisanes for many decades. Among the common people they enjoyed a kind of popularity, while their habitual acts of cruelty and retaliation terrorized the barrio population. Landowners, failing of public security for their crops and carabaos, had for years followed the practice of paying for protection, thus implicating themselves in keeping ladronism alive. To meet this situation the Commission in November, 1902, added to the Penal Code an act creating and defining the crime of brigandage or "bandolerismo." Membership or participation in any armed band of robbers engaged in robbery, carabao stealing, or roaming the country with deadly weapons, was punishable by death or imprisonment for not less than twenty years. The activities of the constabulary led to the arrest of thousands of offenders charged under this act. The courts were overwhelmed with the duty of their trial and men were frequently convicted in companies. The barbarities practised by the ladrones, the fact that they delayed all progress and occasioned untold misery, warranted the severest measures; but it was impossible to do individual

¹ Act 85.

justice, and men suffered punishment who were rather the victims of misfortune than deliberate criminals. Jails were overcrowded and the hygiene of the thousands of prisoners suffered. The evil could only be reached by substantial co-operation between the goverment and the barrio people, upon whom fell both the depredations of ladrones and the punitive measures of the police, and in the state of misunderstanding and inexperience which existed there was at first no accord. It would be impossible within the limits of this chapter to give an idea of the extent and injury of ladronism. No less than half the provinces were seriously affected during the years 1902-06, and bands more or less formidable appeared in practically all. On June 1, 1903, the Commission, by Act 781, authorized the Governor-General to place municipal police under the orders of the constabulary, to grant immunity from arrest by ordinary police to officers or members of the constabulary, and, upon resolution of the Commission, to "reconcentrate" the barrio population in town centers where the district was infested with ladrones and where protection could not be afforded to the people nor could they be prevented from supplying the ladrones with food and resources. This policy was practised in Albay to secure the bandit Ola and later in Cavite, without effect, against Sakay and Felizardo.

Another measure, the "Vagrancy Act," was directed not at Filipino outlaws but at abandoned and dissolute Americans, both white and colored, who were a disturbing element in many towns. On conviction they were deported from the islands.¹

¹ Act 519.

Epidemics.—But lawlessness was not the sole affliction of this trying period. Pestilence and famine descended upon the country. The sanitary service first organized in Manila by the American army achieved a triumph in 1903 in the extirpation of bubonic plague. But smallpox, until controlled by a resumption of general vaccination, swept many parts of the islands for a number of years. And in March, 1902, appeared a terrible visitation of cholera. The disease had not been officially recognized in the islands since the epidemic of 1888-9, although it may have been endemic during the entire period.¹ In Manila the epidemic lasted until the end of February, 1904, and killed 4386 victims. In the provinces, owing to the inefficiency of sanitary measures, the absence of medical help, and the inexperience of officials in combatting epidemics, it swept unhindered until it had devastated all the Archipelago except the mountainous region of Lepanto-Bontok and the islands of Palawan and Batanes. There are no trustworthy figures as to the sick and dead. The official reports seem excessively low to one who saw the disease in several provinces. The census figures, which account for over 200,000 deaths, are probably still under the truth. The cholera, introduced into island after island by the visits of infected ships and native boats, spread from town to town at about the rate of a walking man. No remedial measures were known or tried. General sanitation, removal of filth, precautions in cooking and care of food, were advocated, but in many localities the disease raged until it seemed that only the immune were spared. There was no panic. The natives took it with tragic sub-

¹ This is apparently the opinion of Professor Worcester. See his *History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*, Manila, 1908.

mission. Processions in honor of San Roque and other ceremonies were practised, but the population was beyond the influence of such expert advice as was offered. American officials in the provinces, teachers, and scout and constabulary officers, with very few exceptions, stood to their tasks with heroic fidelity. Not a few fell victims. For months the normal industrial life, the work of the schools, and the operation of the newly established local governments were demoralized.¹

Disease assailed the animals as well. Surra killed most of the horses in the islands and a still more serious calamity, the rinderpest, destroyed the cattle and carabaos indispensable to rice cultivation. Agriculture was paralyzed.

Agricultural Distress and Economic Crisis. — The economic crisis was serious. For years the islands had not raised their own food in adequate amounts. The development of the culture of tobacco, hemp, copra, and sugar had lessened the rice cultivation, and Saigon and Burma had supplied the deficiency. In 1903 the importations of rice reached 20,000,000 pesos; in 1904 they rose further to 23,097,628 pesos. The army, which had kept a great deal of money in circulation, had been much reduced and this economic support was gone. By the summer of 1902 in many parts of the islands there was suffering for lack of food. The price of rice was rising rapidly in Manila and there was evidence that a combination had been formed among importers to control its price. Under these circumstances the Commission, by Act No. 495, appropriated 2,000,000 pesos to buy and distribute rice to needy districts, selling it at reasonable prices. The transaction oc-

¹ *Census of the Philippine Islands*, vol. III, p. 47.

casioned a loss to the government of \$100,000, but it broke the corner.

Drought of unusual length continued through many months of 1903 and locusts invaded nearly every province. The earliest records of Spanish occupation rehearse the losses through the armies of these winged invaders, and beginning with an early date, ordinances of Philippine governors had authorized the general levy of the population to destroy the young of the locusts. This practice was authorized by new legislation and an appropriation made to aid the provinces in their efforts at extermination. The introduction of a fungus fatal to locusts was tried also, but without results. The relief fund of \$3,000,000 voted by Congress, the only appropriation ever made by the United States government for the aid of the islands, was used to supply food to populations engaged in fighting locusts as well as for building roads and constructing school-houses. Efforts were also made to restock the islands out of this fund with carabaos from China and the Malay states.

The economic distress was further aggravated by the depreciation of silver, which impaired the purchasing power of the Mexican money in general circulation, by the absence of markets for such exports as tobacco and sugar, and by the unfamiliar character of the local taxation.

The prestige and success of the new government were greatly damaged by a number of defalcations of disbursing and property officers. The system of audit was inadequate, untried men had been entrusted with responsibilities beyond their ability or integrity, the number of officers at first charged with the receipt and disbursement of funds was unnecessarily large, and numerous irregularities oc-

curred. The offenders were swiftly prosecuted and unspareingly punished, but their behavior was a great mortification to the Commission and to the community.¹

These are some of the difficulties under which the administration of Governor Taft labored. That progress was made is eloquent tribute to him and his associates. Business was suffering from the loss of army trade, from currency disorder, and from failure of products, but the finances of the Government were kept solvent. Public order suffered from ladrones and from constabulary operations, but gradually friendships were established between Americans and Filipinos and co-operation was attained. The schools, in spite of delays of organization and the lack of means of communication, made progress and were attended in 1902-3 by about 150,000 pupils.

The personality of Governor Taft went far to reassure Filipinos and conquer their distrust and antipathy, but the American business community did not sympathize with his policy of "the Philippines for the Filipinos." He was continually embarrassed by the lack of support from men who preferred the military régime, who clamored for a free hand in appropriating the natural wealth of the islands and for legislation favoring exploitation. One of Mr. Taft's last services was the delivery of an address in Manila on the eve of his departure entitled, "The Duty of Americans in the Philippines." This was perhaps the fullest and ablest defense of the American policy in the Philippines ever made.²

Settlement with the Catholic Church. — Mr. Taft had labored to complete one other task. This was the purchase

¹ Report, 1903, vol. I, p. 70.

² *Official Gazette*, vol. I, p. 68.

of the "Friar Lands." These lands, the possession of the Augustinian, Franciscan, Dominican, and Recollect orders, amounted to about 425,000 acres, 275,000 acres being in the vicinity of Manila. Some had belonged to the orders for centuries, but the Augustinian estate in the Kagayan valley had been granted to that order in 1880 and the San José estate in Mindoro had been granted to the Recollects in 1894. Filipino feeling against the clerical ownership of these properties was intense. After 1896 it had never been possible to collect rentals from the tenants. The Malolos Convention which adopted the constitution of the Filipino Republic had decreed the secularization of these lands. The Schurman Commission had recommended their purchase by the government, their subdivision and sale to tenants. The Philippine Commission adopted this plan. It was urged by Mr. Taft in Washington in the spring of 1902, and sanctioned by Congress in the Act of July 1. On his way back to the Philippines in 1902, Mr. Taft went to Rome, hoping by direct application to the Pope to secure a contract for the purchase of the estates and the entire withdrawal of the friars from the islands. This effort was unsuccessful, but a new Apostolic Delegate, Monsignor Guidi, was appointed to the Philippines, and after long negotiations it was agreed in December, 1903, that the friar lands should be purchased by the Philippines government for \$7,237,000. Subsequently other disputes involving the ownership of property, including the San José College, were settled or compromised in a manner generous to the church, and the difficult questions involved in the separation of government and church were met without inheritance of ill feeling. Furthermore, by Act of March 26, 1908, Congress appropriated

\$403,030.19 for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Church to settle its claims for damages to church property during the Spanish War and the Insurrection.¹

Meanwhile the religious predominance of the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines had been menaced by a remarkable secession which found its strength in hostility to the continued service of the friars as curates of the parishes. This schism was led by a Filipino priest, Gregorio Aglipay, who proclaimed himself Pontifex Maximus of the Independent Catholic Church of the Philippines. Hundreds of towns fell in with this movement, and their churches were turned over by the people to the Aglipay leaders. The Roman Catholic Church authorities demanded of the government that the churches be restored to their bishops by armed interference of the constabulary, but the government maintained a neutral attitude and required the matter to take its way in the courts. Decisions of the Supreme Court of the Philippines eventually gave the title of all these churches to the Roman Catholic bishops.

Administration of Governor-General Wright.—Following Mr. Taft's departure, Mr. Luke E. Wright was inaugurated on February 1, 1904.² In his inaugural address Mr. Wright dwelt upon the need of industrial development and of transportation, especially railroads, and urged that

¹ See Report War Dept. 1900, I, part 4, pp. 502-8; Report Phil. Com. 1902, pp. 22-33; Ib. 1903, Exhibits F.G.H.I.; Ib. 1904, Exhibit I.; Correspondence between the Holy See and Hon. Wm. H. Taft, Manila, 1902. Sen. Doc. 190, 56th Cong. 2nd sess.; Special Report of Secretary Taft, Washington, 1908.

² Congress by Act of Feb. 6, 1905, the "Cooper Act," changed the designation of the chief executive of the Philippines from Civil Governor to that of Governor-General.

encouragement and friendliness be shown to all who desired to enter the islands for their legitimate development. The policy, he said, should be one of "equal opportunities to all."

Economic Policy. — This announcement was welcomed by Americans who had opposed Mr. Taft, as indicating more favorable concessions to business and foreign capital, while Filipinos were to some degree disturbed. It was apparent that Mr. Wright's sympathies inclined more toward measures for industrial development than to the political training of the Filipinos or to public instruction of the child. As Secretary of Commerce and Police he had already given extensive study to the question of increasing railroad facilities in the islands, and the most important achievement of his administration was the interesting of American capital in railroad building. President Roosevelt appointed to the Commission to succeed Mr. Wright as Secretary of Commerce and Police, Mr. W. Cameron Forbes of Massachusetts, then a young man of thirty-four, who had had successful experience in financial reorganization of electric roads and similar business in the United States.

Building of Railroads. — Except for a short steam tramway running from Manila to Malabon, the islands had but one railway, of 196 kilometers length, running north from Manila through the rich level plain of Luzon to Dagupan on the Gulf of Lingayen. The royal decree granting a concession was dated April 25, 1885, the grant following in 1887 when construction work commenced. The road was opened to traffic in several sections from 1891 to 1894. The Spanish decree had controlled the fixing of rates and regulation of service and this control continued to be exercised by the government under the United States. The

Commission served as a public utilities commission.¹ The conditions authorized by Congress and published by the Philippine government were somewhat different from those of the Spanish period. The presence of revolution and disorder and the uncertainty of the political future of the islands had made foreign capital distrustful of Philippine investments. In order to attract investors, it was found necessary for the government to guarantee interest at four per cent. for a period of thirty years on the bonds of railway companies making contracts for the building of railways, the government reserving the right to supervise the construction and operation.²

Under these terms 725.8 kilometers of railway have been constructed on Luzon, uniting with Manila the provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas; 118.74 kilometers on Panay joining the coast of Kapis with Iloilo; and 98.83 kilometers along the eastern coast of Cebu. These roads have all been operated with profit and there will apparently be no necessity for the Philippines government to give financial aid.

Roads and Highways.—The public road policy inaugurated by Governor Wright was less fortunate. Mountain roads from Iba to Tarlak, from Pagbilao to Atimonan, a road designed to cross the island of Samar, and a road built across Cebu, were practically not utilized by the people and relapsed into ruin. Local roads built at heavy expense afforded scant returns. The absence of draft animals frequently made it impossible to use such

¹ Later a board of rate regulation was created by Act 1779, composed of the Governor-General, the Secretary of Commerce and Police, and one other person. (Rep. 1908, p. 33.)

² Report 1905, p. 3, sq.

roads when built. There was not provided, as later, an organized service to keep them in repair, and the damage by storms and typhoons each year was great. This last difficulty has been too little heeded. Road building in the Philippines is a different task from that in British Malaya or Java, where mere dirt roads suffice and macadam with reasonable attention will stand unaffected season after season. In the Philippines the rainfall accompanying a typhoon disturbance is enormous, and even roads of most durable construction suffer heavy damage.

Unable to utilize these improvements fully, the people resented the burden of their maintenance. It would seem as if the Philippines, like Mexico and some Spanish American countries, would most economically pass from the stage of trails and paths to that of steam or electric roads. The islands have abundant water power that could be utilized, and the heavy expenses incurred for wagon roads would have sufficed in many cases to build light railways affording immediate transportation to a people lacking both horses and vehicles.

Civil Service System.—Mr. Wright was a strong friend of the civil service system, which had been planted in the islands at the very beginning of the work of the Commission. Amplification of the law having been found desirable, an additional act, regulating the service and settling questions of absence and leave, was enacted on January 12, 1904, and on the first of September following were promulgated revised civil service rules further systematizing the service and strengthening the merit principle on which it was based.

Reorganization of the Administration.—The insular administration had been created with great rapidity and on

the whole with admirable results, but it now appeared that the cost of the government might be reduced and a higher efficiency reached by a reorganization of bureaus and a standardizing of office methods. On April 1, 1905, Governor Wright appointed a committee, with Mr. Forbes as chairman, which carried out a series of bureau investigations and recommended certain changes which were in large measure adopted by the Commission and incorporated in Act No. 1407, enacted October 16, 1905. This measure, known as the "Reorganization Act," consolidated certain branches of the government. The bureaus of Archives and of Patents, Copyrights and Trade Marks were united to the Executive Bureau. The Civil Service office, which had before been a board of three members, after the usual American pattern, was changed to a bureau. The Board of Health likewise became a bureau and to its custody were added the Civil Hospital, the Baguio Sanatorium and the health of Bilibid Prison. The Bureau of Government Laboratories became the Bureau of Science and the Mining Bureau was consolidated with it. The Bureau of Architecture was abolished and its work given to the Bureau of Public Works. The commissary and supply store in Manila organized by the constabulary was transferred to the insular purchasing agent, whose office became the Bureau of Supply. The telegraph system operated by the constabulary was transferred to the Bureau of Posts. The Ethnological Survey (previously the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes) and the Manila Library were added to the Bureau of Education, the first to be transferred a little later to the Bureau of Science and the latter in 1908 to be reorganized under the Philippine Library Board. The resulting reorganization

and administration of the insular government was as follows:

The Governor-General retained under his executive supervision the Executive Bureau and the Bureau of Civil Service.

The Department of the Interior embraced the Bureaus of Health, Lands (newly created to administer the acquired friar lands and other public domain), Science, Agriculture, Forestry, Quarantine Service, and Weather, with general supervision over the non-Christian tribes except the Moros, and over Philippine fisheries.

The Department of Commerce and Police embraced the Bureaus of Constabulary, Public Works, Navigation, Posts, Port Works, and Coast and Geodetic Survey, with supervision of corporations except banks.

The Department of Finance and Justice embraced the Bureaus of Justice, Audits, Customs, Internal Revenue, Insular Treasury, and the city of Manila, together with general supervision of banking, coinage, and currency.

The Department of Public Instruction embraced the Bureaus of Education, Supply, Prisons, Printing, and Cold Storage, with general supervision over libraries, public charities, and museums. In 1908 a Bureau of Labor was added to the Department of Commerce and Police and in 1910 the Bureau of Agriculture was transferred to the Department of Public Instruction.¹

By this act the centralized system of administration was confirmed. Executive authority is centralized in the Governor-General and the Secretaries of Departments, who exercise administrative control over the bureaus. The heads of the bureaus, uniformly styled by this act "directors,"

¹ (Act 1912 of Philippine Legislature.)

are the responsible heads with authority over the personnel and the undertakings of their bureaus. This form of administration, modelled as it is upon successful continental and American federal experience, is a great improvement over the ordinary decentralized and ununified administration of American states. Its advantages have been fully demonstrated. Only in a few instances has the Philippine government shown a disposition to adopt the irresponsible and disunited "board type" of administration so common in American state governments. The administration of the University of the Philippines, however, has followed the usual American plan, being committed to a Board of Regents, partly ex-officio and partly appointed by the Governor-General. The Library Board and the Board of Industrial Sales Exhibit are recent innovations of the board type of administration.

The above reorganization somewhat improved the administration. It did not greatly reduce the office personnel or simplify the methods except in the field of disbursements, where authority was consolidated and the former system of auditing replaced by a system of pre-audit and a better property accountability. The Philippine Government was perhaps the first under the American flag to investigate and reform its administration in the interests of economy and efficiency and the effort is correspondingly interesting to the student of administration.

Changes in Local Government.—This is a suitable place to notice certain modifications in the plan of provincial and municipal government. The American government in the Philippines had retained the Spanish administrative divisions, the "provinces," but had attempted to introduce the principle of local autonomy. Almost without excep-

tion modern colonial governments place the district or provincial administration directly under the head of the colony and fill the chief post of responsibility with a trained appointive official. But the American Commissioners had in view the American county as a model and were impressed with the evils of "centralization" and "autocracy." They undertook to decentralize, and created provincial governments of the "commission type" ostensibly autonomous in their powers. However, these governments were never entrusted with important branches of the service or utilized by the insular authorities as local agents. Education, constabulary, forests, mines, lands, and posts were committed to insular bureaus with headquarters in Manila and representatives in all parts of the islands. At first, roads and similar public improvements were constructed by the provincial boards, but in 1905 the office of "supervisor" was abolished and provincial road work entrusted to district engineers of the insular Bureau of Public Works. The place of the supervisor on the provincial board was taken by the division superintendent of schools. Local boards of health also were abandoned in favor of sanitation by the Bureau of Health. These arrangements indicate a failure of the plan of decentralized provincial governments, and a disposition not to entrust them with any real powers. The Reorganization Act made a decisive change toward administrative oversight by providing that the Executive Secretary should have general supervision over the provincial treasurers and provincial administration, review the action of provincial boards in assessing the land tax, and approve all appointments to the subordinate personnel of the provincial governments. The provincial governments, however, were obviously too expensive for the slender duties

left to them. Economy was gained by uniting several small provinces with larger (Marinduki with Tayabas, Antiki with Iloilo, Abra with Ilokos Sur, Masbate with Sorsogon), and by consolidating the offices of governor and secretary, or secretary and treasurer. The separate court for Abra was abolished,¹ and the office of fiscal in two different provinces was united in a number of instances. Several years later an effort was made to increase the responsibilities of the provincial governments and the third member of the board was made elective, like the governor. More recently the terms of office of both these officials have been extended to four years. In spite of the lack of any sound theory in the plan of provincial governments, they have interested the people and have accomplished some notable improvements, including the erection of many excellent provincial buildings.

The Commission had originally adopted the "pueblos" as the basis of municipal government. But the plan provided by the Municipal Code of 1901² was overelaborate and artificial, required too many paid officials and was too expensive for the average town. Consolidation was early resorted to. In 1903 the number of municipalities was reduced by over four hundred. Many former town centers were thus left without local officials; buildings and plazas were neglected. The whole civic spirit, which with Filipinos centers in their locality, was hurt. More recent years have seen the reincorporation of many of these towns. The Governor-General was given authority to effect this rehabilitation, and the return of more prosperous years has brought improvement in the manner

¹ Act 1345, May 19, 1905.

² Act 83.

in which municipal goverment is conducted, though many of the initial defects remain. As in the case of the provincial governments, no adequate administrative supervision for the municipalities has ever been created.]

Improvements to the City of Manila. — Other public undertakings which date from this time are the Manila harbor and the replanning of the city. To a large degree the Americans followed plans which the Spaniards had originated but had pressed with insufficient energy to realize in their time.

The port of Manila had remained for centuries unprotected from heavy winds and typhoons. Cavite offered the only passable anchorage for ships too large to enter the Pasig river. Ocean-going steamers at Manila lay two miles or more off shore and transferred their freight and passengers to lighters, exposed to danger during the season of typhoons. A splendid port was formed by building an immense breakwater southward from the mouth of the Pasig, behind which the sea was deepened. The excavated mud formed a great fill along the Malecon drive and the Luneta, and was also pumped into the old moats and "contrafoso" around the city, these depressions being converted into sunken gardens. Steel and concrete piers were constructed where the largest ocean craft in the Pacific can be docked. The filled area added two hundred acres of new land to the water front, to be leased for warehouse and transportation facilities. These improvements, practically complete by May, 1908, cost over \$4,000,000.

Other needs of Manila were equally imperative. The old water works, provided by the munificence of Carriero, were inadequate. There was no system of sewerage except

open drains and a few stone cloacæ which discharged into the half-filled moat or into open estuaries. In the last decades of Spanish authority steps had been taken toward better city planning. The Botanical Garden had been laid out. Certain radial avenues were opened and the great circling thoroughfare, the Paseo Azcarraga and its extensions, dedicated to traffic, but still the streets of the city and its many suburbs were narrow, crooked, and ill planned. In 1904, the Commission engaged the famous landscape architect, Mr. D. H. Burnham, to come to Manila and develop a comprehensive plan for improvement and growth of the city. Breaches were made in the old walls in several places to allow new streets to enter, but the noble and interesting gateways as well as all valuable parts of the wall were preserved. The flat and low site of the city made a sewerage plan difficult, but work begun at this time has gradually produced a comprehensive system of waste disposal and drainage. The water system was greatly enlarged and improved, at an expense of about \$2,000,000, the Marikina river being dammed 25 miles from Manila and water secured from high in the mountains above all human habitations. The Commission did not seek to municipalize other public services. Franchises were given or renewed for a telephone service and for street railways and for electric lighting. These were obtained by American companies. The electric car service was opened in 1904.

Political Difficulties and Disorders.—On the political side Mr. Wright's administration was less impressive. A considerable body of irreconcilable Filipino opposition still existed, and there was neither confidence nor understanding between the American authorities and those

Filipinos most able to support the American government and its policies. The production of incendiary literature and dramas had led in November, 1901, to the passage of the Sedition Act and to prosecutions thereunder. Early in 1903 the Filipinos who had been taken as prisoners to Guam at the close of 1900, were pardoned and returned. The most prominent was Mabini, who took the oath of allegiance, landed in Manila, and a few weeks later fell a victim to cholera. One of these radicals, Ricarte, refused to take the oath, and was sent to Hongkong. He returned secretly to Manila shortly after and raised a revolt in Rizal province. Due to his influence a company of constabulary in Bigan, Ilocos Sur, mutinied. Another notorious leader, San Miguel, was defeated and killed in a retired spot near Manila, called Corral-na-bato, in March, 1903. A number of other outlaws in Cavite and Batangas, however, defied the constabulary. These men, Sakay, Montalon, Felizardo, de Vega and a number more, were perhaps the most desperate and cruel leaders in the history of the insurrection. They had arms and they increased their followers by forced recruiting whenever a raid was made. By terrorism, assassination, and robbery they kept the provinces of Rizal, Cavite, and Batangas in a constant state of disorder and alarm. On January 24, 1905, the town of Malabon was raided by these outlaws. The surgeon on duty with the command of scouts was killed, and the wife of General Trias, a former insurgent leader, was carried away. These disturbances demanded increased activity. The outlaws were few, but they were elusive and the constabulary had little success in pursuing them; consequently American troops were called upon. Governor-General Wright put the province under martial law and

with the consent of the Commission authorized the concentration of the barrio population. It appears certain that in this last step Mr. Wright was ill-advised. He was not on terms of confidence with the Filipinos whose counsel and help would have availed much and he allowed suspicion to fall upon men who were capable of furnishing loyal support. Some of the measures resorted to by constabulary officers were lawless and indefensible and were neither properly investigated nor punished. The reconcentration was a grievous hardship to many thousands of innocent people. Crops were lost, property was destroyed, and a feeling of most ominous bitterness was aroused.

The Pulahan.—Besides these difficulties in Luzon and in the immediate neighborhood of Manila, the island of Samar was swept by a frightful outbreak of fanatics, known as the "Pulahan." The name seems to be derived from "pula," meaning red, and to refer to the red trousers at one time worn by these devotees. Their origin dates back at least to the '80s and is connected with superstitious beliefs in the power of magical charms, "anting-anting," which make the possessor invisible or invulnerable. Such a band assaulted the town of Borongan on the east coast of Samar in 1886, was badly punished by the Guardia Civil stationed there, but under their leader Otoy continued to maintain an outlaw existence in the interior of this very rugged island during the last years of Spanish sovereignty and the early years of American occupation. In 1904 some of these men, with recruits from the barrio population of the towns, rebelled. They had apparently some grievances of a solid character. The local officials, including the presidents of the municipalities, were agents of the hemp-buying companies and had used their author-

ity to rob and exploit the humbler classes. These now took a terrible revenge. Town after town was swept away by pillage and fire. The Gandara valley on the west coast was desolated and on the Pacific coast not a municipality was left undestroyed except the heavily garrisoned town of Borongan. Several engagements were desperate and disastrous. Two detachments of scouts stationed at Oras and Dolores were practically annihilated. The Pulahan's favorite weapon was a long heavy knife, broad at the end and running to a sharp point with which he thrust as he charged. Inspired with fanatical belief in his own invulnerability he was a most desperate foeman. American troops were finally thrown into the island and with the able and tactful administration of Mr. George Curry, who was appointed governor, brought the devastation to an end. Otoy, who seems to have been the originator of the movement, was not killed, however, until 1910.

Visit of Secretary Taft and Party. — Advices of these alarming disturbances and of the prevailing alienation of Filipinos from the government induced Mr. Taft, the Secretary of War immediately responsible for Philippine affairs, to visit the islands in 1905. He was attended by a distinguished party of Americans which included a number of United States Senators and members of Congress, newspaper correspondents, and the daughter of the President. The visit was the occasion of many interesting receptions, conferences, and trips to several parts of the islands. Before the departure of the party an open meeting was held by congressmen for the frank report of all criticisms. The visit improved feeling and led to a betterment of the constabulary service. In December Governor Wright returned to Washington on business for the islands,

and while there was appointed to the newly created post of ambassador to Japan. He filled this position with distinction and in the last months of Mr. Roosevelt's administration he became Secretary of War.

Administration of Governor-General Ide.—Mr. Henry Clay Ide, who had been vice-governor and secretary of finance and justice, became acting governor-general on

November 4 and was inaugurated governor-general on April 12, 1906. Before becoming chief executive of the islands, Mr. Ide had done extremely valuable service on the Commission. His management of Philippine finances had been able and prudent. He was largely the framer of the Code of Civil Procedure adopted by Act 190, in August, 1901. He was likewise the principal author of the Internal Revenue Law

of 1904, enacted when it became apparent that the customs and other revenues would not suffice to support the government. This law, which laid increased taxes on the manufacture of intoxicants and tobacco, on banks and insurance companies, lightened the burdens on other industries and in spite of opposition at the commencement proved a valuable tax measure and regulatory law.



Governor-General Ide.

Reform of Currency.—To Mr. Ide in large measure must be ascribed the reform of the Philippine currency, one of the most brilliant achievements of the American administration. The common money of the Far East is Mexican silver. The Spanish government of the Philippines late in its life established a Spanish-Filipino coinage and a mint was created in Manila. It was located in the building called Casa de Moneda, now occupied as office quarters by the Bureau of Education. At the commencement of American occupation Mexican money flowed back into the Archipelago and became with other foreign coins the common medium of exchange. There was a lack of coinage, especially of small coins. In Northern Luzon copper forgeries, called "sipings," made by the Igorot of Mankayan district, freely circulated. During the first two years of American occupation Mexican pesos were valued at half an American dollar. But in 1901 the value of silver began to fall all over the world and a Mexican dollar ceased to be worth fifty cents gold. The depreciation continued by gradual downward stages throughout succeeding months until in March, 1903, it required 2 pesos and 66 centavos to equal in value a dollar of gold. The loss to labor and to business was very great. A person receiving a wage or salary in silver found the purchasing power of his income was rapidly lessening. Prices were disturbed. As the government was still receiving Mexican money in payment of taxes and customs its revenues were seriously affected. From January to October, 1902 alone, its losses were nearly a million pesos. The losses to individuals ran into untold sums. On the urgent recommendation of the Philippines Commission, Congress on May 2, 1902, passed an act authorizing a coinage system for the Philippines

with a standard Philippine dollar, or "peso," worth fifty cents of American money and exchangeable at government treasuries for this amount. The designs for the peso, half peso, peseta, and centavo were made by a Filipino, Mr. Melecio Figueroa. Over seventeen million dollars of these attractive coins were received in 1903. Furthermore, paper certificates, furnishing a portable and convenient currency, were printed at Washington, the most commonly used piece, two pesos, bearing the effigy of José Rizal. Mexican money, no longer acceptable for taxes or legal tender, was driven out of the islands, while the old Spanish-Filipino coins were redeemed by the government. This creation of a sound and convenient money was one of the finest triumphs of the government. Its advantages were appreciated immediately by all classes, and contrary to expectations the Filipinos even in remote parts of the islands quickly familiarized themselves with the paper currency and accepted it willingly.

Opium Legislation.—In 1903 it became evident that the habit of using opium was rapidly extending among Filipinos, particularly in the Kagayan valley, in Sambales, and in the Moro country. Spanish laws had forbidden the drug to Filipinos but had permitted its use to Chinese in licensed smoking establishments. The failure to regulate left the vice free to spread. A regulatory measure on the lines of previous Spanish law was prepared by General Smith, Secretary of Public Instruction, and laid before the Commission in 1903. Much opposition was expressed to it, especially by the "Evangelical Union," and after several discussions of the measure the Commission determined to postpone action pending further investigation. A committee was provided, consisting of

Major Carter of the United States Army, who had been head of the sanitary service, Dr. José Albert, and Bishop Charles H. Brent of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This committee visited neighboring countries and studied opium laws abroad, and on their return recommended a measure modelled largely upon Japanese legislation in Formosa, which aimed to suppress the use of the drug completely. Such a law was enacted and under its rigorous enforcement this vice has ceased to be a factor in the problems of the islands. The splendid moral power shown by the Chinese people in recent years in throwing off this habit has doubtless helped to reduce to a minimum the use of opium in the Philippines.

Standard Weights and Measures.—In 1906 after a careful study of the matter by government experts in the Bureau of Science, the system of weights and measures was reformed and legalized. Standards of weight and capacity had become deplorably falsified and irregular. It was commonly said that the only reliable unit of measure remaining was a Standard Oil can. The debasement and frauds practised fell heaviest, as such irregularities do, upon the poorest purchasers. It was decided to adopt the international metric system which the Spanish government had decreed, and it was found possible to standardize the native measures, the "kaban," "ganta," and "chupa" in terms of the metric system. A ganta was made exactly equal to three liters and such local standards were authorized until January 1, 1909.¹

Postal Savings.—In October, 1906, there was established under the Bureau of Posts a "Postal Savings

¹ Act 1510, enacted August 3, 1906.

Bank," a measure wisely designed to encourage money saving and thrift among those too poor to avail themselves of ordinary banking facilities.¹ The measure proved popular. Its use was taught in the schools, where prizes were offered for savings among pupils, and in June, 1908, it was reported that there were 245 offices with deposits of over a million pesos, credited to 5389 depositors, 45 per cent of them being Filipinos. This measure so commended itself to Mr. Taft that as President he secured the enactment by Congress of a similar system for the people of the United States.

Surrender of the Cabecillas.—Mr. Ide's governorship saw the final destruction of the tulisan or ladron leaders, who for so many years had filled central Luzon with murder and disorder. The rigorous policy authorized by Governor-General Wright in Cavite, which has been referred to above, secured the breaking up of the bands and the capture of numerous firearms, but it did not apprehend the leaders or "cabecillas." Later in 1905, however, Felizardo was killed by some of his own followers and a few months later the others, Sakay, Montalon, de Vega, and Villa-fuerte, were induced to surrender. The circumstances of this event did not produce a favorable impression, glad as all were to be freed of these bandits. Early in 1906 Governor-General Ide authorized the constabulary to use the services of the political agitator, Dr. Dominador Gomez, who had supposedly been in occasional communication with these cabecillas during their period of outlawry. What terms the goverment made with him has never been disclosed. The executive was careful to stipulate that no

¹ Act 1493, May 24, 1908.

terms were to be offered to the outlaws and that the surrender should be unconditional. The men, with what expectations will perhaps never be known, came out of the mountains north of Lake Bay where they had concealed themselves, appeared at Manila, and, after a conference, surrendered. They were tried in Cavite before an able Filipino judge who sentenced them to death. Meanwhile Mr. Ide had retired and the appeal for their reprieve came before the new executive, Governor-General James F. Smith. This conscientious executive with exhaustive patience faced the whole body of facts in the case and in an able and convincing summary extended clemency to two and sent the others to the gallows.¹

Filipino Parties.—The governorship of Mr. Ide marked the beginning of renewed political activity among the Filipinos. As early as 1900 the active efforts of Mr. Taft and his associates to reach an understanding with the Filipinos had led to the formation of the first political party in the history of the Philippines, the *Partido Federal*. It was organized to secure peace under the sovereignty of the United States. Its first platform was adopted December 23, 1900.² Its program renewed the "assimilation" idea of a time while the islands were still under Spain. "The Federal Party," wrote Dr. Pardo, "is constantly laboring to show to the Filipino people that nothing will benefit them as much as an unconditional adoption of American civilization, in order that they may at the proper time constitute a state similar to others of the Union.

¹ Report 1907, I, pp. 37-42.

² Printed in Mr. Taft's testimony before the Senate Committee in 1902; also in part 2, *Report of Lieutenant-General Commanding Army*, for 1902, p. 122; see also a history of the party in appendix to the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, December, 1901.

This is the final purpose of its platform which clearly explains the aspirations of the party, which are, briefly, as follows: a steadily increasing autonomy, the separation of church and state, representation of the Philippines in the Federal Congress, and the adoption of the American Constitution, culminating at last in the admission of the islands as one of the states of the Union.¹ The party was governed by a "directorate" of seven members and by a "council of government" of twenty-five members. Affiliated committees existed in all the provinces. A party assembly or convention was held at Manila in 1901 and a memorial presented to Congress. At subsequent conventions in 1902, 1904, and 1905, policies were debated, Congress petitioned, and the discipline of the party perfected. During this period the party included some of the ablest men in the archipelago, whose labors of co-operation entitled them to the confidence and gratitude of the government. Of their ranks were most of the Filipinos selected during this period for public appointment.

Persons who held more radical views and upheld the principle of independence maintained no organization for a number of years. The existence of rebellion and brigandage down to 1906 made the agitation for independence dangerous and such advocacy was forbidden by the "Treason and Sedition Law." This law penalized every form of secret association and provided that until it had been officially proclaimed that a state of war or insurrection no longer existed in the Philippines, it should be unlawful for any person to advocate orally, or by writing or

¹ page 164, Report, 1901.

printing, or like methods, the independence of the Philippine Islands or their separation from the United States.¹

The government was not left free, however, from troubles occasioned by agitators or revolutionists. Among the prominent "irreconcilables" (*intransigentes*) who returned from exile was Mr. Isidoro de los Reyes, who during the period of active insurrection had published in Europe an anti-American journal entitled *Filipinas ante Europa*. He was joined by Dr. Dominador Gomez, who had been in the medical service of the Spanish army. They started what was ostensibly a labor organization called *La Unión Obrera*. In October, 1903, Reyes began the publication of a labor and socialist organ *La Redención del Obrero*.² The government regarded this union as an illegal association and Dr. Gomez was three times unsuccessfully prosecuted on the charge of founding and supporting such an organization. About the same time the "Nationalist Party" was organized by Mr. Pasqual Poblete, the editor of a Manila paper called *El Grito del Pueblo*. This paper advocated amnesty to the ladron leaders or "cabecillas" and urged these revolutionists to surrender on condition that the United States would promise independence.

The disturbed condition which had prevailed during Mr. Wright's administration, the sedition in Manila, the brigandage that prevailed in Cavite and Batangas, and the Pulahan devastation on Samar had all retarded the participation of the Filipinos in political affairs, and caused the government to look with suspicion upon such activity as that above described. But the improved con-

¹ Act 292, enacted Nov. 4, 1901.

² See Nos. 11 and 15 of this publication for a history of the organization.

ditions of order made it possible for Mr. Ide to adopt a more friendly attitude toward political groups whose proximate aim was independence. Expectations of the early inauguration of the Philippine Assembly were bringing forward many ambitious young Filipinos disposed to enter public life and willing to co-operate with the American authorities for the advance of the country.

Elections of 1905 and 1906.—The biennial elections for municipal officers occurred in December, 1905, and those for provincial governors in the following February. Unusual interest attended them. Good order was maintained everywhere, but the number of disputed elections was very great. In some provinces every municipal election was contested. In one province 19 successive ballots for governor were necessary before a candidate was chosen. Of the 32 provinces organized under the Provincial Government Act, governors were popularly elected in 29. In Cavite, Samar, and Isabela, where political rights had been suspended, the governors were appointees of the Governor-General. Of the above 29 men chosen by representatives of the people, only one, Mr. Reynolds in Albay, was an American. The others for the most part were representatives of a new spirit. They were noticeable for their youth, progressive attitude, and eagerness to prove themselves able and efficient in their positions. Their election marked a general advance in the spirit of co-operation between the provincial authorities and Manila. Several, like Cailles in Laguna, Luna in Ilokos Sur, Zialcita in Bataan, and Sandiko in Bulacan had been leaders in the insurrection against American authority a few years before. Others had not previously been conspicuous in public affairs. Such were Osmeña in Cebu, de Veyra

in Leyte, Queson in Tayabas, Borja in Bohol, Gabaldón in Nueva Ecija, Arnedo in Pampanga, and Artacho in Pangasinan. The ability displayed by these men as governors led to their taking a leading part in the subsequent politics of the country and in the Philippine Assembly. The large influence subsequently exerted by Mr. Osmeña, who was to be the first speaker of the Assembly, gives interest to a petition framed under his influence that was presented to Secretary Taft and party on their visit to Cebu, August 15, 1905. This memorial petitioned for a declaration by Congress of its ultimate policy for the Philippines, the creation of positions of undersecretaries of departments to be filled by Filipinos, greater limitations upon executive and legislative authority, modifications in the criminal procedure in favor of the criminal, for the assignment and transfer of judges of first instance by the Supreme Court rather than the executive, for greater economy in certain branches of administration, for the reorganization of the constabulary on a popular basis, for the removal of treasurers from the classified civil service, for the protection of Filipino labor, and protested the grant of perpetual and irrevocable franchises.

The time had come for the free organization of the Filipinos into political parties, and several parties now appeared.

Organization of New Parties.—The immediate independence party, *Partido Independista Inmediata*, was founded July 1, 1906.¹ The membership embraced the more radical of those seeking to attain independence by legal means. Among their members were Messrs. Ledesma,

¹ See *El Renacimiento* of July 2, 1906, for an account of organization and for the platform.

Barretto, Sandiko, Osmesa, Fernando Maria Guerrero, and Dr. Lukban, a brother of the insurgent general. A committee of the party waited upon Governor Ide to inform him of their legal intentions. They were affably received. The periodical *La Independencia* was founded as the organ of the party, which also had the active support of the very influential Filipino journal *El Renacimiento*.

A party of more moderate workers for independence who were opposed to immediate separation from the United States formed the *Partido Unión Nacionalista* on March 12, 1907. Among their members were such influential Filipinos as del Pan, Apacible, Lioungson, Ocampo, and Professor Leon Maria Guerrero.

Numerous attempts to solidify these elements have gradually resulted in uniting those working for early independence of the islands into a single national party. It is to be observed, however, that all of these parties proclaimed for a guaranteed independence, or an independence under American protection. The only political element expressing its advocacy of immediate independence without American support of any kind was the radical association of Dr. Dominador Gomez. Meanwhile, the Federal Party continued its activities and still appeared to be the best organized and most strongly supported political aggregation. Its early policy of entrance into the American Union had become demonstrably hopeless and ultimate nationality was too attractive and legitimate an aspiration to be denied. At a conference held in January, 1907, the Federal Party, while reaffirming its adhesion to principles published in 1905, changed its name to the "Progressive Party" (*Partido Nacional Progresista*), and its program to one of ultimate nationality. The party organ continued to be *La Democracia*.

Inauguration of Governor-General Smith.—In the midst of these active political movements Mr. Ide retired from the service of the islands and General James F. Smith was inaugurated Governor-General on September 20, 1906. A week later Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, Collector of Customs, was appointed Commissioner and Secretary of Public Instruction. General Smith was a native Californian and at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War an attorney in San Francisco. He was a member of the first military expedition to the Philippines, and colonel of



Governor-General Smith.

the 1st California. After military service in the vicinity of Manila he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers and military-governor of the island of Negros, where the people had organized an independent government and sought American sovereignty. Subsequently he became Collector of Customs for the Philippines, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and on January 1, 1903, Philippine Commissioner and Secretary of Public Instruction. He possessed wide acquaintance with the Filipinos, and sympathy for their aspirations.

Immediately upon his inauguration the Governor-General assembled the provincial governors in Manila in a conference, which opened on October 1. Governor Osmeña of Cebu was chosen presiding officer. The conference considered a number of matters submitted by the chief executive, among them the new election law, the question of the land tax, road construction, financial conditions, agriculture, sanitation, and municipal economy. As a result of its recommendations two important changes were made in the provincial governments,—the third member became elective and the boards were empowered to impose or suspend the land tax. This tax had been provided in 1901 for the support of local government, but it was foreign to Philippine fiscal experience and was unpopular. The method of assessment was imperfect. Owing to these facts and to the agricultural depression, the Commission had twice suspended its operation, providing for local needs by insular appropriations. Now, faced by the alternative of imposing the tax themselves or foregoing local funds, the provincial boards in all but two provinces imposed the tax in 1907.

The Philippine Assembly.—The opening of the Philippine Assembly was the distinguishing incident of General Smith's administration, as well as the culmination of the legislative program of Congress for the Philippines. To many students of colonial government the creation of this native legislature appeared radical and dangerous. It was without precedent in tropical colonies. Spain never permitted the establishment of a legislative body in any of her great dependencies of either America or Asia, legislative power being strictly reserved to the home government where it took the form in the early centuries of Spanish

empire of statutes of the Council of the Indies and later of ministerial decrees. Nor was there precedent for a native legislature in the colonial governments worked out by England, France, and other colonial powers. The "legislative councils" of the British Crown Colonies contain members appointed from the natives of the locality, but these representatives never constitute a separate body, are always in the minority, and, if elected and not appointed by the government, are chosen as representatives of particular interests. The principle of popular representation has been considered a dangerous and improper one to apply to the governance of tropical colonies.¹ But in many particulars Americans in the Philippines had preferred more liberal policies than those sanctioned by colonial experience elsewhere. The political ambitions of the Filipinos had seemed legitimate and promising. The Schurman Commission of 1900 proposed a legislature of two chambers on the model of an American territorial legislature. The Taft Commission in its early reports outlined a plan of government to consist of an upper house of appointed members, partly official and partly non-official, with the chief executive of the islands as president, and a lower house elected by restricted suffrage. The creation of a Filipino assembly was urged by Mr. Taft at the time of his appearance before Congress in the winter and spring of 1902. Republicans in the

¹ See several criticisms of the American plan by Professor Reinsch, *Proceedings of the American Political Science Association*, 1904, and "Municipal Government in the Philippines," *Nat. Conf. City Govt.*, 1903, pp. 194-201; Mr. Alleyne Ireland, *Outlook*, vol. 78; Mr. John Forman, *Contemporary Review*, vols. 86 and 91; Mr. Hugh Clifford, *Living Age*, 251.

House generally supported the project, but the Senate was more conservative.¹

The two houses of Congress compromised by providing for an assembly, but deferring its inauguration until two years after the taking of a census of the islands and subject to a condition of peace and order to be determined by the President of the United States. The law further provided that the Philippines should be represented after the manner of American territories by two resident commissioners at Washington with seats in the House of Representatives, but without votes.

One feature of the proposed assembly deserves special mention. The two houses of the legislature, namely the appointed commission and the elected assembly, were to have co-ordinate legislative powers. Bills could be introduced in either body and the consent of both bodies was necessary in order that any bill become a law. The history of two-chamber legislatures has usually been that the more popular house has acquired control of the government through refusal to vote supplies. It was not the wish of the framers of the Philippine assembly law that this body, when created, should be able in the historical manner to coerce the Commission. Consequently it was provided that in the event of the two houses being unable to agree upon appropriations, the budget of the preceding fiscal period would remain in force, the definite sums appropriated for specific purposes being considered reappropriated for the ensuing period. This curious device seems

¹ Interesting light upon the history of this measure is afforded by Mr. Taft's speech at the inauguration of the Assembly and by an address of Senator Beveridge (who in Congress opposed the grant of an assembly) at the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia in 1907.

to have been borrowed from the Constitution of Japan¹ in which it was presumably inserted by the great constitution maker Prince Ito. It may be further presumed that Ito derived the idea from the experience of Bismarck and the Prussian Diet.²

The Philippine Census. — The insurrection was reported officially to be at an end September 8, 1902. The census was organized by an army officer, General J. P. Sanger, who had taken the census of Cuba, assisted by Mr. Henry Gannett of the United States Geological Survey, and Mr. Victor Olmsted of the Bureau of Statistics. The census was taken during the year 1903, largely through employment of local officials. It was proclaimed and published March 27, 1905. It showed the total population of the archipelago to be 7,635,426 of whom 6,987,686 were Christian peoples.³ The law establishing the Assembly restricted its jurisdiction to those parts of the islands not inhabited by Mohammedans and pagan peoples, and thus the Christian provinces alone were entitled to choose representatives. The census determined with approximate exactness the population of each province, municipality, and barrio in the islands and afforded a basis for the distribution of representation to a popularly elected legislature. Two years after the proclamation of the census the election was proclaimed, the date being set for July 30, 1907.

¹ See Japanese Constitution, article LXXI.

² It may be noted further that the provision has been introduced also into the constitution of the island of Porto Rico, since a deadlock between the upper and lower chambers of the legislature of that American possession.

³ *The Census of the Philippines, 4 vols. Washington, 1905.*

Qualifications of Electors. — In anticipation of the elections for the Assembly the Commission had on January 9, 1907, enacted a new election law (Act No. 1582) which divided the Christian provinces into 78 assembly districts with two additional districts for Manila. The law provided a non-partisan board of inspectors in each municipality and an official secret ballot, and penalized corrupt practices. The conditions of suffrage remained as originally provided in the Municipal Act of 1901,¹ which had followed somewhat the provisions of the "Maura Law" proclaimed by the Spanish government in 1893. Voters were restricted to male persons twenty-three years of age, not subjects of any other power, with a residence of six months in their district, who, prior to August 13, 1898, had held local office, or who owned real property to the value of five hundred pesos, or who could speak, read, and write either the English or Spanish language. The total number of voters registered for the election of the Philippine Assembly of 1907 was 104,966. Of these 34,227 declared themselves Nacionalistas and 24,234 Progresistas.²

¹ Act 82 Philippine Commission, enacted January 31.

² In the election of November 2, 1909, the registration was almost double that of July, 1907, amounting to 208,845, and 92.40 per cent. of the registered electors voted. Incomplete returns made at the date of the report of the Executive Secretary for 1912 showed the registration for that year 249,805, of whom 61,805 exercised the suffrage by reason of having held office, 60,533 through property qualifications, and 81,916 by the possession of educational qualifications. This total registration was equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the census population and showed that the proportion of literate voters to the population was 1.47 per cent.



The first Assembly in session.

The First Session of the Assembly.—The result of the election of 1907 and of both subsequent elections was to indicate a large preponderance of Nationalist strength. Election to this first Assembly was greatly coveted. Unusual efforts were made by candidates. The Election Law, following a doubtful American practice, required delegates to be "residents" of the districts choosing them. This provision caused a general exodus of politicians from Manila to the provinces. Mr. Taft, the Secretary of War, who had been so largely responsible for the creation of the Assembly, came to the islands for its inauguration. He and his party arrived in Manila October 15, 1907, and on the following morning at nine o'clock the inauguration took place in the Grand Opera House. The provisions of the law and of executive orders were

read, addresses were made by Governor-General Smith and Secretary Taft, prayer was offered by Bishop Barlin of Nueva Cáceres, the roll of delegates was called and the Assembly declared opened. The meeting adjourned to meet at the Ayuntamiento in the afternoon. In this latter meeting Mr. Osmeña was chosen "speaker" and an organization begun. In the first days of the session rules were adopted, committees formed, and a procedure developed. A considerable number of bills had been prepared by different members and were soon introduced. The first to be passed was the "Gabaldón Act" providing a million pesos for building barrio schools. The inaugural session was followed by the "first session" and that by a "special session," the legislature finally adjourning June 19, 1908. The second session of the First Legislature was held February 1 to May 20, 1909. Sixty-nine bills passed both bodies and became laws.¹ About half of those which passed the Assembly and a number which passed the Commission failed to pass both houses. Several bills were enacted after "conference committees" had discussed them. During the same period the Commission enacted six laws for the government of non-Christian peoples.

A general appropriation bill was among those enacted. The preparation of a budget is properly an executive matter, and for some years the regular annual budget had been prepared in the office of the Executive Secretary for submission to the Commission. The American Congress, however, has always prepared the appropriation bill in

¹ Among these were bills establishing a Bureau of Labor (Act 1868), creating the University of the Philippines (Act 1870), and providing general appropriations for the government (Act 1873).

the House Committee on Ways and Means without the aid of an executive budget. Unfortunately and unscientifically this example influenced the Commission to turn this function over to the Assembly.

On the whole the attitude of the first legislature was commendably prudent and conservative and relations between Commission and Assembly were harmonious and

helpful, much being due to the tact and influence of the Governor-General. Toward the end of the first session strong influence was exerted to pass through the Assembly a resolution calling upon Congress to grant independence. Many delegates had been elected on the promise of securing such action. The resolution was not passed, but in a rather singular manner endorsement was



Hon. Sergio Osmeña.

given to the policy of independence by a vote approving the sentiment of an address to the Assembly made by Speaker Osmeña in which was asserted the capacity of the Filipinos for self government. The most dramatic feature of the session was the prolonged but unsuccessful effort of Dr. Dominador Gomez to secure a seat. The Assembly finally voted him to be ineligible to election.

The first legislature chose as Resident Commissioners at Washington, Mr. Benito Legarda of the Commission and Mr. Pablo Ocampo de Leon. In 1909, Mr. Legarda and Mr. Manuel Queson of the Assembly were chosen Resident Commissioners by unanimous vote of both houses sitting separately. In 1913 the Resident Commissioners were Mr. Queson and Mr. Manuel Earnshaw, a manufacturer of Manila.¹

The Second Session of the Assembly.—The Second Assembly, chosen in 1909, showed a still larger Nationalist preponderance. Some of the most prominent members of the preceding legislature were not re-elected. The Second Legislature held a special session March 28 to April 19, 1910; a first session October 17, 1910, to February 3, 1911; a second session October 16, 1911, to February 1, 1912; and a final special session February 2 to February 6, 1912, Congress by Act of February 27, 1909, having changed the law so as to provide a four-year term. This Assembly was more radical than the first. The number of disagreements with the Commission over legislation was large. Many measures failed to pass more than one body. The effort to pass an appropriation bill failed at each session and the budget of 1908 continued to be the current appropriation. Among Assembly measures rejected by the Commission were bills repealing the treason and sedition act, the "bandolerismo act," the "flag act" and the race-track law; to abolish the death penalty; to suppress

¹ Materials for the study of the Philippine Legislature are found in the *Journal of The Philippine Commission*, vols. I to VI, Manila, 1908 to 1913; *Diario de Sesiones de la Asemblea Filipina*, vols. I to VII, and in the *Laws and Resolutions of the Philippine Legislature*, commencing with vol. VII.

the Civil Service Bureau; bills to extend the powers of local governments, and numerous bills carrying appropriations of money. The two houses were unable to agree upon the choice of Resident Commissioners to Washington, for the term commencing March 4, 1911. Congress by Act of February 15, 1911, provided that incumbents should hold office until their successors were chosen. On December 10, 1910, the Assembly passed a joint resolution requesting Congress to accord the Filipino people the right to frame and adopt a constitution of their own for the Archipelago. The Commission, by a nearly unanimous vote, laid this resolution on the table.¹

Changes in the Commission.— Meanwhile the Philippine Commission had undergone many changes. Congress by Act of May 12, 1908, increased the number of members to nine and authorized the President to increase by one the number of secretaryships. On July 1, 1908, Mr. Forbes was appointed Vice-Governor-General and Mr. Gregorio Araneta, the attorney-general, Secretary of Finance and Justice, this position having been vacant since the appointment of Mr. Ide as Governor-General in 1906. Judge Newton W. Gilbert, who for several years had been judge-at-large of the court of first instance, and Mr. Rafael Palma, a member of the Assembly from Cavite, were appointed commissioners. Early in 1909 Secretary Shuster returned to the United States, his resignation being accepted on March 1, and Mr. Gilbert succeeded him as Secretary of Public Instruction. On the same date was accepted the resignation of Dr. Pardo de Tavera, and Judge Juan Sumulong of Rizal province was appointed to

¹ See *Commission Journal*, No. 4, pp. 267, 340-47.

succeed him. Mr. Frank A. Branagan, the insular treasurer, was appointed commissioner on March 4. In May Governor-General Smith retired, to be succeeded by Mr. Forbes; and a little later Mr. Charles B. Elliott of Michigan was appointed Secretary of Commerce and Police. Thus only two members, Secretary Worcester and Mr. Luzuriaga, remained of the eight who had begun the notable work of government and legislation in 1901.

Administration of Governor-General Forbes. — Governor-General Forbes was exceedingly interested in the industrial and economic sides of the Philippine problem. He

inclined to the view expressed by many students of colonial government, that education and political participation should wait upon economic development. He insisted upon curtailing the program for the general education of the people. In public addresses he counselled the Filipinos to devote less thought to politics and more to private business. In view, however, of the great eagerness of Filipinos for education, their surprising ability to advance themselves as soon as their ignorance is relieved, and their



Governor-General Forbes.

intense preoccupation in the political future of their country, it seems idle to urge them to diminish their interest in the intellectual and political advance of their race and unstatesmanlike not to recognize that the problems of consummate difficulty in the Philippines will continue to be political in character.

Both as Secretary of Commerce and Police and as Governor-General, Mr. Forbes secured the devotion of many millions of dollars to public improvements, including the Benguet Road, the "summer capital" at Baguio, and a great program of highways. Some of these works may never be fully justified by the use given them by a population living mainly on the coasts and largely deprived of vehicles and draft animals, but other improvements originated or advanced by Mr. Forbes are of demonstrated benefit. Such are the port works of Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu, artesian wells furnishing pure drinking water to hundreds of municipalities, and the use of reinforced concrete for the public buildings of the islands.

Congressional Investigation of the Friar Lands. — Since the heated debates of Congress in the spring of 1902, the question of the Philippines has seldom been treated in a partisan manner and Congress had exhibited every mark of confidence in the integrity of the government in the Philippines. In 1910, however, charges were made by Representative John A. Martin of Colorado that friar lands had been illegally and corruptly disposed of. On June 25, 1910, the House by resolution ordered an investigation. In November, Secretary Worcester and other officials concerned went to Washington and appeared before the committee. The charges of malfeasance appear to have been very recklessly made and were entirely dis-

proved. Nor had lands been disposed of in a manner contrary to the law. Congress in legislating in 1902 had provided that grants from the national domain in the Philippines should be in the form of homesteads of not more than 16 hectares to an individual nor more than 1000 hectares to a single corporation. The Commission in disposing of the friar lands had not felt bound by these limitations. The Philippine public domain was property of the United States and subject to disposal under such conditions as Congress had determined, but the friar lands were entirely distinct and were the possession of the Philippines government. Several large tracts were leased to single individuals, including an official, and the Mindoro estate was sold to an American sugar corporation. If made generally, these large disposals would be inimical to the policy of developing small landowners, but the situation of the Mindoro estate on an uninhabited and undeveloped coast strongly recommended its sale to a corporation with resources sufficient to develop it and encourage the settlement of that island. In view of the criticism which the sale or lease of large tracts had awakened, the administration at Washington instructed the Philippines government to seek only small lessees and occupants. The policy of the United States to open the public lands of the Philippines to homesteaders has never been successfully carried out by the Philippine government. The population is not naturally migratory and its ignorance and helplessness has prevented the general pre-emption of vacant lands. It may be questioned whether the efforts of the government to settle the public domain by Filipino homesteaders have been adequate and intelligent and whether the proper policy for the government would not be to adopt a more pa-

ternal attitude, lease lands to tenants, in necessary cases supply certain improvements, and retain the title in the government.

Agricultural Prosperity. — Industrial conditions were greatly benefited by the passage of the Payne Tariff Act, October 6, 1909. Since the acquisition of the islands Congress had steadily refused to admit their products to the markets of the United States free of duties. Philippine sugar and tobacco had sought markets elsewhere without success. The copra had largely gone to France. Hemp had been injured by the competition of the hennequin of Yucatan. After years of effort, however, President Taft succeeded in securing practical free admission of Philippine products.¹ The effect on Philippine agriculture was immediate. The area of cultivated land in Occidental Negros increased about 50 per cent. in the year. Prices rose for the tobacco growers in the Kagayan. Business felt the effect and both exports and imports were stimulated. The total foreign trade of the Philippines for the fiscal year 1912 was \$104,869,816, of which 40 per cent. was with the United States. The partial suppression of the rinderpest which had destroyed the herds of the islands in 1902 and had since been endemic, was secured by the use of general and local quarantine. In 1911 it was believed the carabaos had increased to over 1,000,000, while the loss from animal plague had been reduced to approximately 3,000 per annum.

Tropical agriculture, while rewarding under good conditions, is peculiarly subject to losses. Plant and animal

¹ Rice is excepted, and the amounts of sugar and tobacco are limited. The Philippines, however, have exported no rice for many decades and in 1911 sugar shipments to the United States reached only 55 per cent. of the free limit and cigars 46 per cent.

diseases, fluctuations of prices and instability of markets, unite with uncertain conditions of labor to produce discouragement. To all these difficulties the Philippine government has given much attention, seeking to destroy pests, introduce new crops, and improve methods of farming. The condition of the agriculturist differs much in different parts as well as the rate of wages and the standard of living. In the hemp regions wages are high. In certain provinces there are many small landowners or peasant proprietors; in others the land forms large estates or "haciendas" and the cultivator is a tenant or laborer. One of the foremost aims of the work of education has been to increase and enlighten the class of small farmers.

Damage from Typhoons. — From one great source of loss, however, no protection suffices, and this is the annual injury done by typhoons. The situation with respect to these hurricanes is peculiar. The fertile East Indies to the south are entirely spared. Occasionally the coasts of Indo-China and southern China are visited and Japan frequently suffers, but the Philippines lie immediately in the path of these cyclonic movements and each year the loss mounts into the millions. The Weather Bureau with its service of skilled Jesuit observers furnishes warnings of these storms and yet the loss of life is sometimes great. In 1905 the "Cantabria typhoon" sunk the coasting steamer of that name with the loss of all on board and the coast-guard cutter "Leyte" with loss of all but two. In 1906 no less than four "first class" typhoons swept different sections of the archipelago, and in Kagayan the loss to human life was very large. In 1912 a most disastrous typhoon swept the city of Cebu and is believed to have occasioned the death of a thousand people. In estimating the relative

backwardness of certain improvements in the Philippines allowance must be made not only for the rapidity of decay but for the persistent destruction of these storms.

The Taal Disaster.—The Philippines are of volcanic formation. Activity has diminished in historic times and losses from eruption and earthquake are seemingly less than in earlier centuries. There are, however, no less than twelve volcanoes still more or less active. Of these the most notable is Mayon, which was in eruption at least twenty-five times in the nineteenth century, and next in activity is Taal. In 1754 this volcano erupted with violence and destroyed the towns of Taal, Lipa and Tanawan which at that time were built on the shores of the lake in the midst of which the volcano rises. From that date, while constantly active and an object of great interest, Taal volcano inflicted no damage until the night of January 30, 1911, when after some hours of premonitory quaking and exploding it suddenly erupted with terrific force, emitting deadly blasts of gas and dropping masses of scalding mud for miles southward. The light of incandescent gases was witnessed at Manila 40 miles away, and the explosion was heard at Dagupan, 160 miles distant. Numbers of villages about the lake were utterly destroyed and at least 1300 people perished. The extent of the tragedy was not at first appreciated at Manila, until adventurous officials traversed the locality and discovered hundreds of half buried bodies among the ruined villages. Then relief forces were sent, including constabulary and Red Cross representatives, and attention was given to such injured as survived. The following year the government established a seismological station on the shore of the lake to observe future phenomena and give warning of danger.

Visit of Secretary Dickinson.—Between July and October, 1910, the Philippines were visited by the Secretary of War in Mr. Taft's Cabinet, Hon. J. M. Dickinson. During his stay a lengthy address was presented to him by the Nationalist Party, reviewing the question of the capacity of the Filipinos for independence. A joint memorandum from both political parties was also presented to him in which certain "reforms" were asked. These included the repeal of limitations on the legislature, the "separation of powers" in the Commission, an elective Senate, and especially the extension of the Assembly's jurisdiction to those considerable portions of the Archipelago inhabited by pagan and Mohammedan peoples which were governed exclusively by the Commission.¹

The Non-Christian Peoples. — The problem of the non-Christian peoples is one of the most serious obstacles to those advocating an early independence for the Philippines. The events of recent years, the revolution against Spain, the insurrection against American authority, and especially the efforts of the government to unite the Filipinos by education in a common language and by training under common liberal institutions have gone far toward making the ten or eleven distinct Christian peoples a single nation. But the pagan peoples form an unassimilated stock, and between Christian and Moro persists the enmity left by centuries of piracy and war. Congress in providing a Philippine Assembly judged that these peoples should properly have no representation, while the principle of self government for Filipinos did not necessitate subjecting the non-Christian peoples to the legislation of the Christian.

¹ See report of J. W. Dickinson, Secretary of War, to the President on the Philippines, Washington 1910, Appendices B and C.

The results of American effort in behalf of the pagan peoples would appear to justify leaving them to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Commission. Late in 1901 the Commission created the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to make a general exploration of those portions of the islands inhabited by these peoples, investigate their character and condition, and recommend legislation for their government. A preliminary reconnaissance of the pagan and Mohammedan peoples was completed by officers of this bureau in about two years. Several provincial governments of a special type with appointed officials were organized. The Reorganization Act placed all these regions under the special administrative oversight of the Secretary of the Interior and from this time gratifying progress was made. In the great Cordillera Central of northern Luzon, inhabited by several hundred thousand Igorot, relations between Americans and mountaineers were exceptionally friendly. Trails were built, headhunting abated, and schools founded. In August, 1908, by Act No. 1876 the government of this region was consolidated in one jurisdiction known as the Mountain Province, with seven sub-provinces, Benguet, Amburayan, Lepanto, Bontok, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao. The capital was placed at the large native town of Bontok in the heart of the Cordillera. Other provinces under the special administration of the Commission were Nueva Vizcaya, where the Christian inhabitants are few; Mindoro, with an unexplored interior inhabited only by forest Mangyan, and Palawan, where the Christian population is confined to the small islands of Kuyo and little settlements elsewhere. In August, 1907, the lower and middle valley of the Agusan river and the interior of the province of Misamis, as far south as the eighth parallel

of latitude, were separated from the Christian provinces of Surigao and Misamis and formed into a non-Christian province called Agusan with two sub-provinces, Butuan and Bukidnon.¹ The inhabitants of these regions of Mindanao are all pagan forest people, Manobo, Mandaya, and Bukidnon. They had been entirely neglected by the provincial authorities and were in need of government and of protection from the exploitation of traders from the coast. The work accomplished in all these regions for



Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the
Interior, 1900-1913.

the civilization and well being of the natives is one of the most interesting and commendable features of American government in the islands.²

The Moros. — If the reasons for not placing the pagan peoples under the government of Filipinos were valid, they would seem to be doubly so in the case of Moros. By historical and religious ties the peoples of southern

¹ Act 1693.

² See the reports of the Secretary of Interior for years 1908 to 1913 inclusive. Also several remarkably illustrated articles by Mr. Worcester in the *National Geographic Magazine* for March, 1911, September, 1912, and November, 1913.

Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago are connected not with the northern inhabitants of the Philippines but with the Mohammedan Malays to the south. The Sultan of Sulu is nominal sovereign of North Borneo. As in the rest of the East Indies, trade connections are with Singapore rather than Manila. The long piratical wars of the Spaniards with the Sultanates of Magindanao and Sulu left the Moros still the aggressors until the middle of the last century. The arrival of steam gunboats and the destruction of the Samal pirates in 1848 freed the Philippines from the raids of the corsairs, but Spain's authority was not fully asserted even at the end of her rule. In 1860 a royal decree established the politico-military government of Mindanao. The town of Jolo was captured by the Spaniards in 1876 and two years later the Sulu archipelago was added to the above jurisdiction. The Treaty of 1878 with the Sultan of Sulu was the final expression of relation with Spain. It left the Sultanate in the position of a protectorate rather than a dependent state.¹ Spain's sovereignty over this archipelago was questioned by England and Germany, but in 1882 she made her authority effective by placing garrisons on Bongao, Siasi, and Tawitawi.

The subjugation of Mindanao was no less difficult. War was waged against Datu Utu in the Rio Pulangi valley in 1887, and in 1888 Weyler began an invasion of the Lanao region which established the Spaniards at Marawi but left unsubjugated the lake basin. Such were the conditions when in May, 1899, the Spaniards evacuated and American garrisons took their places at Sambo-

¹ See Saleeby, *History of Sulu*, for history of relations and texts.

anga, Jolo, and Cotabato. The situation was a difficult one for the Americans. The Filipino insurrection which had broken out employed the bulk of their forces. Every consideration recommended an avoidance of trouble with the Moros. Under instructions from the commanding general, a treaty was negotiated with the Sultan of Sulu by Gen. J. C. Bates somewhat after the form of the Spanish treaty of 1878. Owing to imperfections of translation, however, both sides gained an erroneous idea of what had been conceded.¹

This was the situation until 1903. Fighting with the Moros was avoided except for an expedition which penetrated to Lake Lanao from the south coast and established an American post on the south side of the lake. American garrisons occupied important points and naval detachments Isabela de Basilan and Pollok, but there was little interference with native affairs outside of these stations. Conditions throughout the Moro country, however, were most unsatisfactory. Slave parties were active; the tribes of Mindanao were raided and oppressed; there was violence and disorder everywhere. The Sultan of Sulu, Jamalul Kiram, was a weak man and his feudal datus defied him. The Sultan of Magindanao, Mangingin, had fled from the Cotabato valley in fear of a rival, Datu Ali, and was a refugee on Dumankilas Bay. Such conditions could not be ignored and it was felt that American authority must be exerted. On June 1, 1903, the Commission passed an act for the organization and government of the Moro Province, which was made to embrace the

¹ "Treaty with the Sultan of Sulu, Message of the President." Sen.-Doc. 136, 56th Cong. 1st sess. The authentic reading of the Moro copy is given in Saleeby's *History of Sulu*.

five districts or sub-provinces of Sulu, Samboanga, Lanao, Cotabato, and Davao. The law was based mainly on a draft prepared by Gen. Geo. W. Davis, who had been in command of the American forces in this region. It entrusted the government of the Moro province to a board of six members,—a governor, secretary, treasurer, engineer, attorney, and superintendent of schools. This board was given large legislative powers subject to ratification by the Commission. The board was specifically empowered to create local governments among the Moros and pagan peoples and to collect and codify the Moro customary law, giving it such application as seemed proper in suits between the Moros. It was particularly charged to suppress slavery and slave raiding. A governor, secretary, and treasurer were to be appointed for each district. A special constabulary force was authorized in which the Moros could be enlisted. Forestry taxes and customs receipts collected at any ports in the provinces were to be returned to the provincial treasury. The law provided that army officers might be detailed for the executive positions, and as the continued employment of American troops was necessary, this was naturally done. The first governor was Gen. Leonard Wood, who had been governor-general of Cuba during the American occupation. He was succeeded in 1906 by Gen. Tasker H. Bliss and he in 1909 by Gen. John J. Pershing. The policy inaugurated by General Wood for restoring order generally ignored the traditional authority of the sultans and the datus. For the first time in their history the Moros found their internal affairs interfered with and their local governments threatened. There was little understanding and much prejudice on both sides and severe

fighting followed on the island of Jolo, around Lake Lanao and in the Pulangi valley. While the losses from these wars were severe among the Moros and resulted in the death of their most turbulent leaders and fighting men, the resisting spirit of the race was unbroken. Military posts continued to be imperilled by attacks of fanatical devotees, called "juramentados," and outlaws with a few followers continued to murder and raid. One such outlaw and pirate, named Jakiri, was finally killed in a cave near Jolo in 1909. As late as 1912 a numerous band of renegades occupied an extinct crater on Jolo island and were exterminated only after severe campaigning. In several parts of the province progress has been made by the establishment of general markets or "exchanges" and some successful schools have been conducted.

The Davao region contains but few Moro inhabitants, the native people being scattered communities of pagans, Bagobo, Mandaya, and Tagakaolo. Here the abundance of unoccupied land suited to the raising of hemp attracted a considerable number of American planters. Trouble with labor supply occasioned the introduction of settlers from Cebu and results have been fairly encouraging, although the hill people have occasionally committed murders and depredations and in 1906 the district governor, Lieutenant Bolton, was murdered by a Tagakaolo chieftain or "bagani."

An exceedingly difficult task undertaken by General Pershing was the disarming of the Moros. The importation of arms from Borneo and other quarters had always been difficult to prohibit, and the Moros themselves are famed forgers of native swords, kries, and barongs. Every datu possessed a number of brass cannon or "lantaka."

The surrender of these arms has weakened the resisting power of the Moros and lessened the incentive to violence and slave raiding.

Whatever the future of these Moro peoples, policy would seem to dictate their being left to unhampered American authority. That this, rather than Filipino government, is their own preference was sufficiently indicated by the passionate statements of several Moro datus to Secretary Dickinson on his visit to Samboanga in 1910.

Summary and Retrospect.—Looking back over the decade which has here been reviewed, the distinctive features of a noble and generous policy can be seen. Peace and order have been won from a long and desperate period of commotion and discontent; a judicial system has been established with codes of law which make justice prompt and effective; great material improvements have been undertaken, railroads built, navigation developed, agriculture revived, and commerce expanded to a point of importance in the world's trade. But these attainments, great as they are, would not entitle the Philippines to the special attention of the student of dependencies. Like benefits have been attained elsewhere by just and able colonial governments. Given a well-peopled country of natural wealth and such results are not difficult to men who can draw upon the organized resources and trained effectiveness of the modern world. The distinctive achievement of the American administration in the Philippines is in the social and spiritual transformation of the Filipinos themselves: the pains taken to make better men. American claims of contributing to the world's experience in the governance of empire lie in the personal and political lib-

erty guaranteed to the Filipinos and in the success of popular education.

Public Instruction. — The public school system has been at the basis of the effort and exemplifies the idealism of the American plan. The law establishing the Bureau of Education authorized the employment of a thousand American teachers. Nearly that number were at work in all parts of the islands in 1902. Subsequently the administration was developed. Superintendents were appointed, one for each province, and in 1904 the provinces were divided into more than 400 districts, each in charge of a supervising teacher, and the effort was made to attain a complete system of primary schools, adequate to give to every child a brief training of three or four years. The most advanced pupils of the American teachers were employed as primary teachers under close supervision and hundreds of schools opened in rural barrios where the population had no opportunities of learning. The response of the Filipinos to this program was immediate. The complete rudimentary education of the islands was brought within promise of attainment when by 1908, 600,000 children were under instruction in these schools. English has been diffused throughout the Archipelago and a force of 8000 Filipino teachers trained to give primary instruction in this language. In 1905 intermediate schools were begun which offer three-year courses following the primary course. These have developed into industrial schools with a variety of practical courses. Graduates of these schools may be found in a very great number of useful occupations, including the civil service. Completing the public school plan are the high schools, one in each province. They are actually colleges or institutes and have

ample grounds, numerous buildings, shops, and dormitories. The high schools are the real intellectual and social centers for each province and have commanded the fullest enthusiasm of the Filipinos, who have made sacrifices to gain them. Two interesting features of the public school work which have had much emphasis are industrial work and athletics. The industrial work in primary schools consists in instruction in the many beautiful native arts and industries which thus become household employments and contribute to the income of families. This industrial teaching was especially encouraged and standardized for all primary schools by Mr. Frank R. White who became Director of Education in December, 1909, and who died in Manila, August 7, 1913, after nearly twelve years of educational service in the Philippines. In intermediate and high schools the courses of an industrial character are of foreign introduction and include mechanical drawing, wood and iron working, agriculture, commercial branches, domestic science, and nursing.

Public Health.—The physique of the Filipino is also being modified for the better. The race is physically small, but agile, athletic, and comely. The schools have introduced everywhere the games of ball and athletic sports of America to the notable moral benefit of the population. The old sports of cock fighting and gaming have failed to interest the rising generation. The Bureau of Health has scored repeated triumphs in combatting diseases and in educating the people to a new attitude toward sickness and death. Bubonic plague has been practically non-existent since 1903. Smallpox was finally checked after complete vaccination of the population in 1908. Cholera, which has appeared sporadically since the

epidemic of 1902-3, has been promptly controlled. Tuberculosis and beriberi are yielding before improved diet and a better standard of life. Leprosy formerly claimed many victims. These have been isolated at the leper colony on the island of Kulion and necessary steps taken against the ravages of this dread affliction.

The Bureau of Science and the University.—Closely associated with the work of public health is the Bureau of Science. It has combined biological, medical, and chemical research with the advance of pure science along many lines. It is one of the most remarkable and noble establishments for the discovery of useful knowledge in the tropical world. It is a monument to its first director, Dr. Paul C. Freer, who died in the islands in 1912.

The University of the Philippines was created by act of the legislature in 1908. It includes colleges of Arts, Medicine, Engineering, Law, Agriculture, Veterinary Science, and a school of Fine Arts.

Filipino Aspirations.—In the face of these benefits the Filipinos are not unappreciative, but they demand still more. Naturally an ambitious, self-confident, and daring race, they believe themselves already sufficiently numerous, compact, and disciplined to begin independent life as a nation. The policy inaugurated by President McKinley, Secretary Root, and Governor Taft has never been hostile to the Filipinos' ambition for nationality. It has ever treated this aspiration as legitimate. It has, however, taken due count of the difficulties and of the dangers from its too early realization. Having accepted American responsibility for the Archipelago, it has guarded the final supremacy of American authority. It is apparent, however, that a complete accord has not yet been reached be-

tween Americans and Filipinos and that a new basis of relationship is to be attempted.

The Democratic Administration. — The year 1913 witnessed the end of a definite period in the history of administration in the Philippines and the introduction of another policy under the auspices of the Democratic Party. Since the Spanish-American war the two great parties in the United States have been no more sharply divided on any issue than on that of the Philippines. In the election of 1900 the Democrats made "imperialism" the "paramount issue." Again in 1904 attacks upon what had been done in the Philippines were a large part of their campaign. In 1908 and 1912, while the Philippines were little considered, the platforms of the Democratic party continued to denounce the retention of the islands and to advocate their earliest possible separation. The election of President Wilson and a Democratic Congress in 1912 was thus assumed both in the Philippines and the United States to presage the end of one policy and the commencement of a radically different one. Following the inauguration of President Wilson, the members of the Philippine Commission placed their resignations in his hands. While the Philippine service had never been treated as a partisan field by the Republican party, all these resignations were accepted except that of one Filipino commissioner, Mr. Palma. A complete reorganization of the Commission resulted.

Inauguration of Governor-General Harrison. — To the post of Governor-General was appointed Mr. Burton Harrison, a Democratic congressman from New York, who reached the islands October 6, 1913. Mr. Forbes had already departed and Vice-Governor-General Gilbert and

Secretary Worcester retired immediately. The position of Secretary of Commerce and Police had been vacant for more than a year. Thus at the commencement of his administration Governor-General Harrison had not a single department head nor one American colleague. In his inaugural speech he announced on behalf of the President a promise to appoint to the Commission a majority of Filipino members, thus giving to the people of the islands control of the upper branch of the legislature, and the power to ratify all appointments and to exercise jurisdiction over the non-Christian peoples. The following appointments were announced in fulfillment of this promise : Mr. Justice Mapa of the Supreme Court to be Secretary of Finance and Justice ; and Mr. Jaime de Veyra, former governor of Leyte and member of the Assembly, Mr. Vicente Singson, member of the Asssembly from Ilokos Sur, and Mr. Vicente Ilustre of Batangas, to be commissioners. As American members President Wilson appointed Mr. Henderson E. Martin of Kansas, Vice-Governor-General and Secretary of Public Instruction ; Mr. John L. Riggs, Secretary of Commerce and Police ; and Mr. Winfred T. Denison of New York, Secretary of the Interior.

Many changes in the subordinate positions of the Philippines followed Mr. Harrison's taking of office, including the dismissal of several heads of bureaus. One important step was the retirement from the Moro province of General Pershing with the complete withdrawal of the American regiments which had been stationed there for defence against the Moros, and the appointment as Moro Governor of Mr. Frank Carpenter, the Executive Secretary. This was expected to end the participation of the army in the government of the Moros. It was announced

that the vacant parts of the Moro province would be colonized by Filipinos and the effort made to assimilate the Moros into the Filipino nation. To the place at the head of the Executive Bureau was appointed the Attorney-General, Judge Ignacio Villamor.

The Assembly convened on October 16. Mr. Harrison read his message at the opening. It called attention to a threatened deficit of more than four million dollars and advocated rigorous retrenchment, reduction of salaries, and elimination of superfluous positions. It announced that no more American employees would at present be engaged.

These steps seemed to presage the intention of the Democratic administration to seek from Congress an early separation of the islands, a solution provided for by a bill introduced into the House of Representatives by Congressman Jones of Virginia, which had the appearance of being the party measure. This bill provided for Philippine independence through the establishment of a republic in 1921. It further imposed upon the President to seek for this republic an international status of neutrality.¹

There would seem, however, to be but two probable futures before the Philippines — either a continuance of the policy of the last decade, the islands remaining under American sovereignty with a government wherein ultimate

¹ Since the above paragraph was written the "Jones Bill" has been reported in a much modified form. Philippine independence is no longer promised in 1921 but deferred to a future date; the Commission is abolished and a "Senate" chosen by the Filipinos is provided as an upper chamber. The executive power remains in a governor-general appointed by the President of the United States. This combination of a native legislature and a foreign appointed executive seems to revive the discredited type of colonial government which prevailed in the American colonies before their rebellion against Great Britain.

authority is vested in the representatives of the United States, or the complete abandonment of the islands to their own support. The latter is an intelligible policy and would have advocates in the United States, but the final judgment of history will not relieve from odium the party or the people which dissipates the achievements of the last ten years. The establishment of orderly and progressive society is too precious a thing to civilization to save from execration those who would suffer it to sink in strife and sedition and permit its elements to be scattered over the China Sea like the debris of a typhoon.



